# A Crisis of the Humanities? Reflections on the Role of the Humanities in the Global University

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### **Abstract**

Since John Harold Plumb's declaration of "a crisis of the humanities" in 1964, the role of the humanities in the modern university has been the subject of heated debate. Due to ongoing neoliberal educational reform, the modern university has departed from the values of self-cultivation, critical thinking, and democratic citizenship that characterized the traditional university. Discourse surrounding the fate of the humanities in this changed academic environment has highlighted two key challenges: a crisis of confidence and a crisis of relevance. By drawing on Max Weber's concept of

"disenchantment," this article first examines the origins and progression of this crisis of confidence by problematizing the idea that the scholarly work conducted at universities (including that of the humanities) is inherently valuable. It then explores the humanities crisis of relevance in the contemporary era of the "global" university, where value and output are largely measured in utilitarian terms. Specifically, it examines how the humanities' relevance and impact have been conceptualized in key reports on the future of the humanities from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia over the past decade. The article concludes by considering how these twin crises reflect on the contemporary challenges faced by the humanities.

**Keywords:** digital disruption, disenchantment, humanities, the idea of the university, research impact, university research cultures

## A Crisis of the Humanities?

The idea of a "crisis of the humanities" was coined by John Harold Plumb in 1964 to capture the growing concern over the loss of status and perceived relevance of the humanities in modern society. Plumb argued that the humanities had become increasingly inconsequential in a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> John Harold Plumb, ed., "Introduction," in *Crisis in the Humanities* (Baltimore, MA: Penguin books, 1964), 7–11.

world governed by science and technology. Lacking a clear sense of purpose, its teaching had become fragmented and incoherent, while its research had become overly specialized and jargon-laden, making it impenetrable for audiences beyond the academy. While this sense of crisis preceded Plumb's nomenclature, his work inaugurated a long line of critiques and spirited defenses of the humanities. 2 As Eleonora Belfiore and Anna Upchurch suggest, works seeking to "analyse, reflect on, and cast aspersions on the hostile environment in which they [the humanities] have to survive constitute one of those publishing genres of evergreen popularity." 3 Recently, a set of competing discourses has been produced by the leading bodies within the humanities as well as by university managers and consulting firms. Focusing on how the humanities can adapt to the perceived research needs of the twenty-first century, these reports emphasize the need for the humanities to articulate their "impact," "relevance," "translation," and "engagement" with broader society.

At their core, these two perspectives reflect a broader crisis of legitimacy regarding the idea of the university.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wayne Bivens-Tatum has found that reference to a crisis of the humanities "first appears in a journal in 1922, and from 1940 on becomes a steady stream of complaints." "The 'Crisis' in the Humanities," *Academic Librarian* (blog), November 5, 2010, http://blogs.princeton.edu/librarian/2010/11/the\_crisis\_in\_the\_humanities/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Eleonora Belfiore and Anna Upchurch, eds., "Introduction: Reframing the 'Value' Debate for the Humanities," in *Humanities in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Utility and Markets* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 1–14.

While often unacknowledged, the defense of the humanities is typically mounted through an appeal to the traditional idea of the university. The contemporary Western university has foundations in the medieval university. This was a religious institution structured around a community of scholars committed to the pursuit of truth and provision of a general education for the citizenry.<sup>4</sup> Following the Renaissance, and later the Enlightenment, the medieval university evolved into a humanist institution with culture succeeding religion as the transcendent force shaping its sense of purpose.<sup>5</sup> The humanist vision is captured in John Henry Newman's *The Idea of the University* (published in 1852), which remains the most influential Western treaty on higher education. Newman's idea of the university is:

a place of *teaching* universal *knowledge*. This implies that its object is . . . the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement. If its object were scientific and philosophical discovery, I do not see why a University should have students; if religious training, I do not see how it can be the seat of literature and science.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See, for example, Gordon Graham, *The Institution of Intellectual Values:* Realism and Idealism in Higher Education (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> John Carroll, "The Modern University," in *Ego and Soul: The Modern West in Search of Meaning* (Brunswick: Scribe, 2008), 143–158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John Henry Cardinal Newman, *The Idea of a University: Defined and Illustrated* (Washington, D.C: Regnery Publishing, 1999), xvii.

Teaching plays a central role in Newman's idea of the university: to focus on developing the critical faculty and transmitting universal knowledge. Newman endorses a general liberal education over narrow vocational training "because it is a good in itself, brings with it the power and grace to every work and occupation which it undertakes, and enables us to be more useful, and to a greater number."7 In this way, he links the humanistic ideal of self-cultivation with wider social utility. In both its medieval and humanist traditions, the university was founded on the belief that education makes life more fulfilling and has the auxiliary benefit of promoting the social good. In its traditional phases, the university established the nucleus of arguments that education is essential for self-cultivation, critical thinking, and democratic citizenship that persist in the humanities' discourse to this day.

An alternative model that gave greater importance to the role of research emerged in Germany in the early nineteenth century. Founded in 1810 under the leadership of Wilhelm von Humboldt, the University of Berlin established the template for the modern research university. Where Newman's model was centered on the transmission of existing knowledge, the research university was oriented toward the discovery of new knowledge. This model was imported to the United States in 1876, with the founding of Johns Hopkins University, and has seen rapid proliferation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Newman, The Idea of the University, 151.

since the mid-1970s.<sup>8</sup> From its beginnings in the United States, the research university has been associated with economic growth, scientific research, and a dependency on private sector funding.<sup>9</sup> This has shifted the focus of research to contemporary and discrete social problems and heightened the need for researchers to demonstrate the social impact of their projects. Under research and publication pressures, academics within these institutions are prone to teach their research. The result has been a growing divide between the agenda of the research universities and the hallmarks of a traditional humanities education, emphasizing the importance of a broad education and the value of knowledge for its own sake.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, ongoing neoliberal educational reform has seen a decline in government funding, a rise in university-industry partnerships, and universities increasingly adopting the language and practices of the private sector. The introduction of global university league tables that rely on bibliometric data has further exacerbated this trend with universities now competing for rankings to gain status and access to scarce resources. This metric-based model has given rise to the global university, which has become the worldwide benchmark for success. As Gert Biesta suggests, this rationalized system of evaluation has undermined the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Peter Murphy, *Universities and Innovation Economies: The Creative Wasteland of Post-Industrial Society* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Belfiore and Upchurch, "Introduction: Reframing the 'Value' Debate," 8.

substantive values and principles that traditionally informed the idea of the university:

indicators of quality have turned into definitions of quality, so that a position in the league table is no longer seen as a judgement about what makes a good university, but has become the definition of what a good university is . . . at the very same time the global university lacks any sense of direction. . . . Since everyone is only copying everyone else, the global university is a copy without an original. 10

While the consequences of these changes have been felt in all branches of the university, they have had the greatest effect upon the humanities. The demand for "impact" is a direct challenge to the non-utilitarian elements of the humanities. In the wake of post-Global Financial Crisis funding cuts, there has been a profusion of scholarly works seeking to articulate the challenges faced by the humanities in the contemporary climate and defend them against the accusation that they have become irrelevant. With the disruptive impact of COVID-19 already being felt across the university sector, the value of the humanities seems likely to be the subject of ever more heated debate as universities seek to mitigate financial losses and adapt to the changing educational landscape.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Gert Biesta, "How Useful Should the University Be?: On the Rise of the Global University and the Crisis in Higher Education," *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences* 20, no. 1 (Fall/Winter 2011): 38.

The following section examines the sense of this crisis as it has been articulated from within the humanities. It begins with Max Weber's depiction of the crisis at the beginning of the twentieth century. Weber's lecture "Science as a Vocation" (delivered in 1918) anticipated key themes and perspectives that have shaped discussions surrounding the value and purpose of the humanities to this day. This is followed by an examination of how universities and national bodies for the humanities have sought to rearticulate the value of humanities in relation to the perceived research needs of the twenty-first century.

## A Crisis of Confidence

In many ways, Weber's diagnosis of the state of the German university in his lecture, "Science as a Vocation," anticipates this crisis of the modern university. Weber believed "the old university constitution had become fictitious" as German university systems were approximating the capitalistic and bureaucratic systems of universities in the United States. <sup>11</sup> He argues that education in America had become little more than a financial transaction. The university educator's knowledge and skills were thus reduced to the same level as those of the "greengrocer," with both parties essentially exchanging goods for payment. This

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Max Weber, "Science as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. and ed. Hans Heinrich Gerth and Charles Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 130–131.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 149.

tendency toward consumerism persists in contemporary American tertiary institutions. Marc D. Guerra claims that they are becoming more profit-oriented and focused on the "useful or practical things" that might increase students' employability in and adaptability to the "real world." The danger here, Guerra suggests, is that students will come to view both their education and themselves in equally utilitarian terms. <sup>13</sup>

Contemporary scholars may also be all too familiar with the other unfavorable working conditions that Weber went on to describe. Weber claimed that early career academics were experiencing financial insecurity as their prospects of a stable and sustained career in academia became less certain. Their future in academia (or lack thereof) was dependent on the direction of management, whereby academic promotions were based more on chance than merit. Moreover, scholarly achievement was increasingly limited to a scholar's specialization, a trend that Weber presciently believed would persist indefinitely. Guerra regards this increasingly narrow specialization, which persists in contemporary academia, as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Marc D. Guerra, "The Place of Liberal Education in Contemporary Higher Education," *Society* 50 (2013): 254.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> As Gerhard Benetka and Anna Schor-Tschudnowskaja state, "[o]ccupying temporary and poorly paid pre- and postdoc positions, young scientists participate in the ever-evolving machinery of production; the pressure from above, from management, is inevitably passed down to students "Max Weber: Science as a Vocation—100 Years Later," *Human Arenas* 2 (2019): 500. doi: 10.1007/s42087-019-00070-0.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 129–132, 134.

problematic from the perspective of liberal education. For him, it ultimately undermines what liberal educators perceive as the essential aim of education: that is, encouraging students to critically reflect on the kind of person they want to become. <sup>16</sup> This emphasis on self-reflection and self-cultivation in liberal education more closely approximates the older Newmanian humanistic model of a university mentioned in the first section of this paper.

Weber contextualizes these unfavorable developments in academia within the broader questions that challenged the very existence of scholarly institutions: Is scholarly work valuable? If so, what is its value? If not, is it still worth pursuing? According to Weber, these questions cannot be answered by science itself. To make this point, he cites Tolstoy's assertion that "[s]cience is meaningless because it gives no answer to our question, the only question important for us: 'What shall we do and how shall we live?"'17 This rather devastating claim entails that science cannot lead us to the ultimate truth(s) about "being," "art," "nature," "God," or "happiness"; hence, the more we "know" about science, the more we know what we do not and, indeed, cannot know. For example, we can learn about the foundations of particular cultural phenomena (e.g., the rise of punk rock in the 1970s) through the "historical and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Guerra, "The Place of Liberal Education in Contemporary Higher Education," 251–252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 143.

cultural sciences," but we cannot "know" whether the existence of such phenomena is itself valuable.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, central to the very "meaning" of science is the notion of "progress"; recent discoveries will inevitably be replaced or outstripped by future discoveries, and answering one question will likely lead to the emergence of new ones.<sup>19</sup> Hence, Weber claims that the value of scientific works or discoveries is only temporary, as they can only offer a preliminary and tentative, rather than conclusive, understanding of the world, of which science is a part. Weber suggests that advances in scholarship are thus rarely large-scale and usually do not hold in the long-term. 20 Rather, they are incremental; for example, they may pertain to exploring existing ideas in a new context or comparing theorists who are rarely compared with each other. As Gerhard Benetka and Anna Schor-Tschudnowskaja put it:

There is no absolute knowledge of the great, nothing absolute, but only a constant processing of the small, of the contingent, which in its processing in turn obstructs accessing the whole.<sup>21</sup>

This wider crisis of meaning is key to what Weber terms the process of "intellectualist rationalization."<sup>22</sup> This refers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 143, 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid., 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid., 140, 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Benetka and Schor-Tschudnowskaja, "Max Weber: Science as a Vocation," 503.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 139.

to the phenomenon whereby science has become the generally accepted means of interpreting the meaning and value of the world. Unlike other "mysterious incalculable forces" in which people had previously believed, science reassures us by making knowledge transparent; it posits that everything in the world can be known through "calculation." Nevertheless, this process of "intellectualist rationalization" is also one of "disenchantment" because of its underlying futility; due to the above-mentioned limitations of science, the meaning we attribute to the world through the scientific method must ultimately be replaced or discarded.<sup>23</sup> Science can thus only provide a false sense of security. Directly referring to Nietzsche's "last men" who lead a complacent and uncritical existence by following the beliefs of the majority (the "herd"),24 Weber warns us against clinging on to the comforting belief that science can provide us with absolute knowledge. Being illusory itself, this belief can only provide the illusion of happiness. 25 A similar warning is given by Nietzsche against the misguided "optimism" of Socratic-Alexandrian culture, wherein the powers of science and logic are believed to have the capacity to eliminate human suffering.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 138-139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for Everyone and No One*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (London: Penguin Classics, 2003), 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, The Birth of Tragedy and The Case of Wagner, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), 95, 97, 106, 123. Nietzsche claims that Socratic-Alexandrian culture erroneously posits that "it

There is also a clear affinity between Nietzsche's diagnosis of the "death of God," or nihilism, and Weber's diagnosis of "disenchantment," in that both phenomena involve a gradual demise of belief in stable ways of interpreting existence. As is well-known, Nietzsche, in *The Gay Science*, conceptualizes God's death as an "event," that is, a crisis in European morality that symbolizes a gradual demise of belief in Christianity. <sup>27</sup> As Nietzsche regarded God as the locus and guarantor of truth, a Godless world is potentially devoid of meaning. <sup>28</sup> He thus refers to nihilism as a state whereby the "highest values devaluate themselves," <sup>29</sup> whereby such values encompass not only aesthetic, religious, and moral values but also natural laws and logic. <sup>30</sup>

It is not difficult to see how Weber's and Nietzsche's diagnoses of "disenchantment" and nihilism, respectively, could lead to a debilitating pessimism.<sup>31</sup> However, we should recognize that Nietzsche diagnoses nihilism precisely to find a way through which it could be surmounted.<sup>32</sup> Instead of suggesting that we continue to mourn the loss of absolute

can correct the world by knowledge, guide life by science, and actually confine the individual within a limited sphere of solvable problems" (109).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science with a Prelude in Rhymes and an Appendix of Songs*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), 279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale and ed. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Nietzsche, The Will to Power, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Nietzsche, The Gay Science, 168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Nietzsche, The Will to Power, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Robert C. Solomon, Living with Nietzsche: What the Great "Immoralist" Has to Teach Us (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 119.

values, he emphasizes the affirmative possibility of critiquing and revaluing existing values in order to eventually create new values for ourselves. Can a similarly life-affirming response be found in Weber's assessment in "Science as a Vocation" of education in German universities? At first glance, it may seem that scholars can enable their students to escape from the crisis of meaning by telling or at least suggesting to them what to think and how to act. This, however, is not Weber's view, as evidenced by his claim that the "prophet and the demagogue" have no place in the classroom. Weber emphasizes instead the value of "intellectual integrity," meaning that educators should not impress their personal views upon students; they should only present them with "facts" no matter how "inconvenient" or contrary to their own views these may be.<sup>33</sup>

However, this notion of "intellectual integrity," leads us back to our original question: If scholars cannot say anything definite about the world, what then is the value of scholarship? According to Weber, scholars can provide students with the crucial "methods of thinking, the tools and the training for thought"<sup>34</sup> by demonstrating, for example, how to deconstruct arguments; formulate diverse perspectives of issues; and identify their significance, (inter)relationships, and implications. By equipping students with these critical thinking skills, educators allow them to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 146–147.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 150.

"gain *clarity*" on issues of ethical behavior so that they can determine for themselves how to act.<sup>35</sup> Being contextualized within one's "ultimate position towards life," <sup>36</sup> such decisions extend beyond the practical realm (e.g., choosing which car to buy) to the existential one (e.g., establishing one's own hierarchy of values for life). <sup>37</sup> Similarly, in Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Zarathustra demands that his disciples actively challenge and critically oppose his teachings of the Overman rather than simply accept them. He states, "[n]ow I bid you lose me and find yourselves; and only when you have all denied me will I return to you."<sup>38</sup> Zarathustra thereby undermines his very position as teacher by demanding that they first reject his teachings in the process of finding themselves.

Weber acknowledges that choosing for oneself is not an easy task. He highlights that different value systems (e.g., those based on wealth, status, or the common good) could contradict each other in the decision-making process. We must choose therefore between "warring gods," even if

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 151–152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ibid., 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Aligned with Weber's conception of "intellectual integrity," Molly B. Flynn claims that contemporary educators who follow the Socratic method "aim to help students discuss and clarify questions that are simultaneously of both universal and personal significance and that force people into self-reflection by spotlighting the fundamental assumptions undergirding all other claims, goals, and activities. . . . [Their] vocation is to apprentice students in the activity of appreciating and discussing such questions so they are better able to see and respond to the world." "Socratism as a Vocation," *Society* 54 (2017): 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Nietzsche, Thus Spoke Zarathustra, 103.

acting according to the dictates of one means defying those of the other.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, we must "live" this tension rather than try to eliminate it by bearing the uncertainty of not knowing whether one course of action is better than the other.

In depicting the state of the university, Weber anticipated key criticisms and defenses of the role of the humanities that have been mounted ever since. First, there is the rear-guard defense of Newman's ideal that posits a direct relationship between humanities education, the cultivation of intellect, and moral improvement. The last serious defense of this position was undertaken by Frank Raymond Leavis in the middle of the twentieth century. 40 Leavis argued that the role of the university was to transmit culture to students as a tradition of thought. Immersion in the Western Canon would heighten students' critical awareness and make them more moral. As Weber forecast, this educational ideal has become increasingly untenable.

A more modest reiteration of this position argues that humanities education is essential for democratic citizenship. The humanities are seen to prepare students for civic responsibility by fostering the democratic virtues of critical thinking, imagination, and sympathy for others. A further iteration removes the moral element entirely from the equation while retaining a belief in the humanities' capacity to foster analytical skills and introduce students to a body of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 151–153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Frank Raymond Leavis. *Education and the University: A Sketch for an English School'* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1948).

work that illuminates the complexities of human nature. Typically, proponents of this idea echo Weber in insisting that the teacher should not turn the lectern into a pulpit by advocating for specific moral interests or points of view. This diminished sense of the role of the humanities is encapsulated in Stanley Fish's critique of traditional legitimations for the humanities:

Teachers cannot, except for a serendipity that by definition cannot be counted on, fashion moral character, or inculcate respect for other, or produce citizens of a certain temper. Or, rather, they cannot do these things unless they abandon the responsibilities that belong to them by contract in order to take up responsibilities that belong properly to another.<sup>41</sup>

Running counter to the dominant narratives of moral and democratic citizenship, Fish's modest claims for the humanities reflect an underlying crisis of confidence. In the 150 years since Newman announced his educational ideal, the humanities have been dislodged from the center of the university and increasingly forced to defend themselves from claims of uselessness.<sup>42</sup> Fish's declaration represents a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Stanley Fish, *Save the World on Your Own Time* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2008), 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Eleonora Belfiore, "Introduction to Part 1: The Humanities and Their Impact," in *Humanities in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Utility and Markets*, eds. Eleonora Belfiore and Anna Upchurch (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 16.

steadfast refusal to participate in discourses that seek to justify the humanities by appealing to their social utility. He maintains that to engage in this discourse is to force the humanities to defend themselves in an anterior frame of reference in which they will inevitably fail "for it is only one short step at all to conclude that what goes on in the liberal arts classroom can only be *justified* by an extracurricular payoff."<sup>43</sup>

Fish's concerns have proven well founded in the final legitimation mounted for the humanities. Divorced from morality and serious content, they are held to be instrumental in developing the soft skills required for successful participation in the twenty-first century workforce. This justification is typically made by university administrators and can be seen in the reports discussed in the following section.

From Newman to Fish, the defense of the humanities reflects an ongoing process of disenchantment and an ensuing crisis of confidence. These legitimations are illustrative of a collapse of previous substantiating values and loss of an overarching sense of purpose by those working within them. This has also been accompanied by an increasing demand for the humanities to justify their relevance. Belfiore suggests that the result has been the emergence of a "rhetoric of doom and gloom," in which the humanities have struggled with their own sense of worth as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Fish, Save the World on Your Own Time, 55.

well as the wider public perception of their lack of relevance.<sup>44</sup> In accordance with the increasing importance of research in the global university system, the criticism and defense of the humanities has increasingly focused on the "impact" of their research. The final section of this paper considers the humanities' relationship to the contemporary research landscape, and how they may articulate their relevance going forward.

### A Crisis of Relevance

Further to the "rhetoric of doom," Belfiore observes that the value of the humanities has been increasingly defined over the last three decades within a "discourse of 'impact'." <sup>45</sup> Under pressure to demonstrate relevancy, this has given rise to sometimes "exorbitant claims" about the humanities' potential to contribute to "wealth-creation and social-regeneration." <sup>46</sup> According to Belfiore, the humanities suffer from an "image problem" as a "dry and aloof" area of scholarship with little to offer to "the actual concerns" of the real-world. Flowing from this comes the charge of "uselessness" that, in turn, exacerbates the discipline's confidence problem. <sup>47</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Eleonora Belfiore, "The 'Rhetoric of Gloom' v. the Discourse of Impact in the Humanities: Stuck in a Deadlock?" in *Humanities in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Utility and Markets*, eds. Eleonora Belfiore and Anna Upchurch (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Belfiore, "Introduction to Part 1: The Humanities and Their Impact'," 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Belfiore and Upchurch, "Introduction: Reframing the 'Value' Debate," 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Belfiore, "Introduction to Part 1: The Humanities and Their Impact'," 16.

This section discusses the humanities' relevancy crisis through an examination of reports prepared by (or for) humanities bodies and universities from the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States over the past decade. Four broad themes emerge. The first is a state of play narrative focusing on the detrimental impact on the humanities of changes to traditional institutional roles and funding arrangements, as well as to community attitudes. Flowing from this come forthright assertions of the humanities' continuing value, bolstered by specific examples of research and engagement activities to demonstrate practical relevance and worth. Third is the frustration that current measures of academic research "impact" preferences the hard sciences at the humanities' expense. And fourth is the discipline's grappling with the question: "What is to be done?"

In contrast to the discourse about the "crisis of the humanities" in the academy, which emerges primarily from English and Cultural Studies departments, a number of the reports reviewed—such as *To Secure Knowledge* by the United States' Social Science Research Council—reflect the close

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> The paper acknowledges that greater focus is also needed on the lesser examined university systems of East, Southeast, and South Asia. For discussion of the lack of similar reports focusing on these university systems, see Surinder Dhawan, Rita Gupta, and Brij Mohan Gupta, "Social Science Research Landscape in South Asia: A Comparative Assessment of Research Output Published During 1996–2013," *Library Philosophy and Practice, (e-journal)* 4, no. 2 (2015): 1–24. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Brij\_Mohan\_Gupta/publication/281125975\_Social\_Science\_Research\_Landscape\_in\_South\_Asia\_A\_Comparative\_Assessment\_of\_Research\_Output\_Published\_during\_1996-2013/links/55f0527008ae199d47c206bf.pdf.

relationship between the humanities and the disciplines of social sciences in university faculties. According to the Council, there are no longer "clear zones of responsibility in producing social knowledge." It notes that most research funding in the United States was once provided by the state in the service of the common good; now it involves itself in "social experiments [and] behavioral research to improve governance." Universities and non-profit donors have increasingly shifted their focus to sponsoring projects with "observable indicators of impact." As a result, the private sector has come to control a greater share of research and funding.<sup>51</sup>

The Council identifies an "accountability crisis." It argues that the pressure to demonstrate a return on investment drives research short-termism in a discipline wrestling with "long-term questions about issues of great complexity." This is compounded by the humanities being enmeshed in an era of "fake news" and growing societal skepticism toward evidence-based research.<sup>52</sup> A broadly similar state of play is apparent in the United Kingdom, particularly with respect to sectoral pressures coming from reduced public funding and changing institutional roles. The Arts and Humanities Research Council observes that as the "knowledge economy"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Social Science Research Council, *To Secure Knowledge: Social Science Partnerships for the Common Good* (Brooklyn: Social Science Research Council, 2018), vii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Social Science Research Council, *To Secure Knowledge*, 7–10.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., ii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ibid., 6.

advances, more public and private sector institutions are becoming "part of the creation of knowledge and more people are interested in the outcomes."<sup>53</sup>

In Australia, there has been much focus on issues related to funding, research collaboration, and the need for measures that more accurately capture the humanities' actual "impact." The Australian Academy of the Humanities has expressed particular concern about the discipline's heavy reliance on rolling cycles of short-term government research funding as well as its disproportionately low level of funding against the hard sciences. This works against long-term research and the achievement of community benefits from program-based research; imposes financial disincentives to cross- and interdisciplinary collaboration; and disrupts researcher career paths and the building of critical mass over time in disciplines.<sup>54</sup>

Assertions of the humanities' relevance and value are regularly expressed with reference to its practical contribution to contemporary concerns such as technological change, the economy, and employment. For example, a recent report for Australia's Macquarie University by consultancy group Deloitte Access Economics explores the value of the humanities by way of the "productive, innovative and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Arts and Humanities Research Council, *The Human World: The Arts and Humanities in Our Times*, AHRC Strategy 2013–2018 (Swindon: Arts and Humanities Research Council, 2013), 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Graeme Turner and Kylie Brass, *Mapping the Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences in Australia* (Canberra: Australian Academy of the Humanities, 2014), 53.

multidisciplinary workforce" it provides employers; the "better informed citizens" it provides the community; and the increased lifetime earnings it provides humanities graduates themselves.<sup>55</sup> The Australian Council of Learned Academies frames the humanities as an economic necessity for its contribution to an "innovative and skilled workforce." 56 According to the United Kingdom's Arts and Humanities Research Council, technological innovation occurs more rapidly when "allied with cultural acceptance." It emphasizes the humanities' "critical capacity" to challenge social and economic assumed truths and communicate complexity "in comprehensible ways."57 Humanities scholars have even recruited leading scientists to the cause; for example, former Australian chief scientist Ian Chubb's claim that, though the hard sciences are a "critical infrastructure," the arts, humanities, and social sciences offer "vital knowledge and understanding of our world."58

Methods to "prove" to governments that the humanities represent "an excellent investment" have included case-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Deloitte Access Economics, *The Value of the Humanities,* Macquarie University (Sydney: Deloitte Access Economics, 2018), 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Glenn Withers et al., *Australia's Comparative Advantage*: [report for Australian Council of Learned Academies] (Melbourne: Australian Council of Learned Academies, 2015), 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Arts and Humanities Research Council, *Leading the World: The Economic Impact of UK Arts and Humanities Research* (Swindon: Arts and Humanities Research Council, 2008), 22–23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Quoted in Turner and Brass, Mapping the Humanities, iv.

studies, 59 "tracking-back" studies, 60 and even an attempt to plot different disciplinary fields onto a matrix measuring economic and civic "capital." 61 In seeking to show the humanities' real-world relevance, the British Council has identified initiatives such as University College London's "Humanities for Business" program and interdisciplinary centers for Intellectual Property and Technology Law, as well as centers for Employment Relations and Innovation and Change at the universities of Edinburgh and Leeds, respectively.62 "Tracking-back" studies have been used to demonstrate the "economic impact" of humanities research by drawing attention to valuable features of contemporary society that would not exist had this research not been undertaken, such as the role of forensic archaeology and linguistics in British and international criminal and civil law as well as the role of information studies in developing medical research methodologies.63

Most recently, the humanities sector has been actively asserting its relevance to addressing the global coronavirus pandemic with reference to, for example, a COVID-19 Expert Database "for governments, industry, the research

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Australian Academy of the Humanities, *The Power of the Humanities: Case Studies From Leading Australian Researchers* (Canberra: Australian Academy of the Humanities, 2015); British Academy, *Past, Present and Future: The Public Value of the Humanities and Social Sciences* (London: British Academy, 2010); Deloitte, *Value of the Humanities*, 47–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Arts and Humanities Research Council, Leading the World, 20–22.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 14-22.

<sup>62</sup> British Academy, Past, Present and Future, 20-23, 30-31.

<sup>63</sup> Arts and Humanities Research Council, Leading the World, 20-22.

sector, the media, and the community";<sup>64</sup> developing "short-term rapid response projects" to contribute to "understanding, addressing and mitigating the unfolding impacts of the pandemic";<sup>65</sup> and creating a United States-China multidisciplinary panel to consider the "human, social and political implications of COVID-19."<sup>66</sup>

The measures used to quantify research impact reflect the outputs of the hard sciences more than the humanities. This is to be expected, given that the measures were initially developed for the hard sciences. As a result, these metric systems are a source of considerable frustration within humanities disciplines. In an era in which there is an "inclination . . . to codify everything," the nature of humanities research does not readily lend itself to codification. <sup>67</sup> Bibliometric measures

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Australian Academy of the Humanities, "Call for Humanities Expertise on COVID-19 and Pandemics," AAH News April 6, 2020, https://www.humanities.org.au/2020/04/06/call-for-humanities-expertise-on-covid-19-and-pandemics/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Arts and Humanities Research Council, "Research and Innovation Ideas to Address Covid-19," accessed April 28, 2020, https://ahrc.ukri.org/funding/apply-for-funding/current-opportunities/research-and-innovation-ideas-to-address-covid-19/; King's College London, "New Arts & Humanities Projects at the Forefront of COVID-19 Response," April 6, 2020, https://www.kcl.ac.uk/news/new-arts-humanities-projects-at-the-forefront-of-response-to-covid-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Duke University, "The Coronavirus: Human, Social, and Political Implications," accessed April 28, 2020, https://fhi.duke.edu/videos/coronavirus-human-social-and-political-implications.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Arts and Humanities Research Council, *Leading the World*, 22–23; Tim Cahill, *Measuring the Value of International Research Collaboration* (Canberra: Australian Academy of the Humanities, 2015), 2–3. These utilitarian measures

used to quantify research "impact" ignore core humanities outputs, such as books and book chapters. <sup>68</sup> Additionally, the prevailing research impact discourse favors those disciplines that, unlike the humanities, are more able to commercialize their research, such as through patents and start-up operations. <sup>69</sup>

There has been considerable attention in the humanities on highlighting research outputs that should be captured in any reasonable measurement of "actual" impact. In the academic realm, in addition to books and book chapters, arguments have been made for the inclusion of exhibitions, websites, databases, workshops, seminars, conferences, and policy papers. 70 In the non-academic realm—that of "public knowledge creation"—this has been further extended to include outputs such as research books accessible to general readers; research used in

of a discipline's value that diminish the contribution of the humanities might also have a negative flow-on effect on students' choices of a university degree.

For example, in "Socratism as a Vocation," Molly B. Flynn suggests that, in an era where universities are becoming more commercialized, it becomes increasingly difficult to justify to students (the university's "customers") why they should invest in a humanities or social sciences degree such as in philosophy (68). Unlike a more vocational discipline like accounting, philosophy does not provide specialized knowledge in a certain field but rather underpins multiple disciplines (Ibid., 66). Flynn thus asks, "[w]hy would our arbitrary, value-drenched worldviews be worth *their* money?" (Ibid., 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Turner and Brass, Mapping the Humanities, 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Alan Hughes et al., *Hidden Connections: Knowledge Exchange Between the Arts and Humanities and the Private, Public and Third Sectors* (Swindon: Arts and Humanities Research Council & Cambridge: Centre for Business Research, University of Cambridge, 2011), 1, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Arts and Humanities Research Council, *Arts and Humanities Research Landscape* (Swindon: Arts and Humanities Research Council, 2008), 4–5.

professional practice (e.g., histories of public policy and laws); online resources (e.g., digitized manuscripts and images); and engagement with media, public lectures, and ideas festivals.<sup>71</sup>

What, then, is to be done? The key themes to emerge from the reports examined are practical. First, to increase collaboration and partnering across disciplines institutions (universities, the government sector, non-profits, build business). This would seek to understanding, familiarity and trust; stimulate greater "multiagent" knowledge production in areas relevant to today's most pressing problems; and include the potential for new research funding models.<sup>72</sup> And second, to develop more inclusive and accurate mechanisms to measure research impact. It is of course a truism in the humanities that something needs to be done in this area. Proposals range from "quantitative and qualitative studies of evaluation strategies for books and journals";73 to "mechanisms which include people-based, problem-solving and community

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ruth Levitt et al., Assessing the Impact of Arts and Humanities Research at the University of Cambridge, RAND Technical Report (Cambridge: RAND Corporation, 2010), xiii–ix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Arts and Humanities Research Council, *Human World*, 8; Hasan Bakhshi, Philippe Schneider, and Christopher Walker, *Arts and Humanities Research and Innovation* (Bristol: Arts and Humanities Research Council & London: National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts, 2008), 1, 3; British Academy, *Punching Our Weight: The Humanities and Social Sciences in Public Policy Making* (London: British Academy, 2008), ix–xv; Deloitte, *Value of the Humanities*, 10; Social Science Research Council, *To Secure Knowledge*, ii, 26–27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Social Science Research Council, *To Secure Knowledge*, 26–27.

orientated activities";<sup>74</sup> and "frameworks capable of tracking complex systems and changes."<sup>75</sup>

Considerable attention has also been given—particularly by private sector consultancies commissioned by universities humanities bodies—to developing evaluative frameworks to help systematically identify, conceptualize, and quantify the full range of humanities research outputs, not just those typically captured in conventional impact measures. The core objective of such frameworks has been to articulate, with a reasonable degree of transparent objectivity, both academic impact and wider benefits (such as policy impact and cultural and economic benefits) from humanities research and engagement, which they go some way to achieving.<sup>76</sup> For example, the RAND Corporation's "payback framework" aims to directly link specific inputs (such as grant funding) to specific outputs (such as publications) and, ultimately, to outcomes (such as broader cultural shifts in attitudes).<sup>77</sup>

The collaboration and measurement-related themes that have emerged from the reports, while valuable exercises in self-definition and strategic planning, also go to the heart of the humanities' relevancy crisis. On the one hand, the reports provide a set of practical initiatives to ensure a role

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Hughes et al, *Hidden Connections*, 1.

<sup>75</sup> Cahill, Measuring the Value, 2–3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> See Deloitte, Value of the Humanities, 44–50; Levitt et al., Assessing the Impact of Arts, 35–51.

<sup>77</sup> Levitt et al., Assessing the Impact of the Arts, 35–51.

for the humanities in the modern world, and to provide the ammunition to underwrite communication and advocacy with governments, private investors, university managers, and consultancy firms. At the same time, cast in the rhetoric of impact, they are illustrative of both external and internal pressure within the humanities to move away from traditional legitimations of their value to legitimations that are primarily based upon utility.

### Conclusion

The two preceding sections have highlighted the dual crises of confidence and relevance faced by the humanities today. As portended by Weber, these crises are largely a humanities' reduced the consequence of sense importance in a disenchanted world. Since the Newmanian ideal has become untenable, defenses of the humanities have been marked by a diminishing sense of self-importance. This has culminated in the argument that they inculcate the soft skills needed to successfully participate in the modern workforce. As Fish argues, utilitarian legitimations are ultimately a dead end. If the humanities can only present themselves as a form of job preparation, then they are destined to be succeeded by the host of more career focused alternatives that are more directly suited to address this need. In part, these legitimations represent a failure of nerve. Confronted by a public that is increasingly skeptical about their value and divided amongst themselves, the humanities have lost confidence in their ability to impart the higher

ideals that traditionally defined them and recast themselves in utilitarian terms. This has been further exacerbated by wider shifts in the idea of the university and the goal of education. Since the 1950s, the human capital model has dominated Anglo-American thinking about education. <sup>78</sup> With the cost of university attendance increasing and an already volatile contemporary job market being made even more perilous by the COVID-19 pandemic, it is little wonder that students increasingly feel the need to focus upon vocational courses that will maximize returns on their investment.<sup>79</sup>

At the same time, the humanities have been forced to defend their position in the research university. As the preceding section illustrated, a shift in university priorities and changes to educational funding arrangements have increasingly forced humanities departments to demonstrate their impact and utility. In some instances, this has helped reinvigorate the humanities' sense of purpose. The models that have been developed by the RAND Corporation and Deloitte Access Economics are illustrative of innovative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Gary Becker, Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1964); Simon Marginson, and Lili Yang, The Role of Higher Education in Generating Public' and 'Common' Goods: A Comparison of Sinic and Anglo-American Political Cultures (Centre for Global Higher Education Working Paper No. 52., 2020), https://www.researchcghe.org/perch/resources/publications/working-paper-52.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> For an extended discussion of the rising costs of education see, Daniel Johnson "Tuition Crisis: The Costs and Financing of Public Higher Education," in *The Uncertain Future of American Public Higher Education* (London: Palgrave, 2019), 11–25.

ways to articulate the broad range of contributions that the humanities make to wider society. On the other hand, these appraisals remain couched in the rhetoric of impact and relevance. As Belfiore has argued:

Besides achieving the crucial aim of justifying public expenditure—at least in the short to medium term—an instrumental rhetoric has the added advantage of recasting the prickly 'value problem' in the seemingly more manageable terms of measurable socioeconomic impact. Utility thus becomes a handy proxy for value.<sup>80</sup>

Going forward, the challenge for the humanities is to ensure that they do not come to rely on expedient justifications and instead continue to lay claim to a larger role in the intellectual life of the university. Despite their ongoing sense of crisis, they remain a touchstone for the ideas that first inspired the university as well as a vehicle through which to critique the increasingly rationalized culture of the global university. When they are at their best, they can humanize public discourse and remind us that there are higher values than utility. The question remains whether they can continue to make these claims in an increasingly hostile environment. As Alasdair MacIntyre suggests:

The danger is therefore that in research universities the ability to think about ends, including the ends

<sup>80</sup> Eleonora Belfiore, "The 'Rhetoric of Gloom'," 36.

of the university, will be lost and with it the ability to engage in radical self-criticism so that the leadership of those universities will become complacent in their wrongheadedness. How unsurprising it is then that so often from their point of view Newman's lectures should now appear not only false, but irrelevant.<sup>81</sup>

In order to avoid this future, the humanities have much work left to do.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, "The Very Idea of a University: Aristotle, Newman, and Us," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 57, no. 4 (2009): 347–362.

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